

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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-----019033 150332Z /65

O R 150244Z FEB 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9574
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0527

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, MOPS, UNSC, ET, SO, UR, US
SUBJECT: HORN OF AFRICA: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S APPROACH TO
SOVIET AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY

1 AMBASSADOR YOUNG, ACCOPANINED BY AMABASSADOR LEONARD
AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES, CALLED ON AMBASSADOR TROY-
ANOVSKY LATE FEBRUARY 14 TO PRESENT THE UNITED STATES PRO-
POSALS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL
ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALI CONFLICT IN THE
OGADEN REGION.

2. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN ABOUT DEVELOP-
MENTS IN THE HORN EMPHASIZING THE BUILD-UP OF PRESSURES
ON ALL SIDES FOR THE US AND OTHERS TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH
WOULD ESCALATE THE CONFLICT. HE SAID WE WERE AWARE OF
THE SOVIET POSITION BUT WERE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT
THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS WOULD BE FORCED TO ACTIONS
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DIRECTED AGAINST THE SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE IN THE
HORN THAT WOULD BRING DIRE CONSEQUENCES.

3. YOUNG SAID WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING SECURITY
COUNCIL ACTION AS THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE MOVE THE COMMUNITY
COULD TAKE TOWARD PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. HE
EMPHASIZED THAT WE WOULD NOT GO INTO COUNCIL WITH THE

OBJECT OF POINTING FINGERS OR CALLING NAMES. OUR OBJECT INSTEAD WOULD BE A POSITIVE RESULT FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE WHICH MIGHT LAY DOWN THE BROAD PRINCIPLES ON WHICH A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM MIGHT BE BASED. YOUNG THEN REVIEWED THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD GO INTO A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES BOTH FROM THE OGADEN AND FROM THE TWO COUNTRIES INVOLVED, ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND BORDERS OF THE COUNTRIES, RESPECT FOR POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ASSURANCES AGAINST REPRISALS. HE WENT ON TO SAY WE ALSO WOULD ENVISION A CALL UPON ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS UNDER OAU AUSPICES. HE EMPHASIZED OUR DESIRE TO ENCOURAGE THE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT AND TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU IN SEEKING A CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME. HE SAID WE ARE CONSULTING WITH AFRICANS AT THE MOMENT AND WOULD BE MAKING OUR DECISION ABOUT SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

4. MAYNES SUPPORTED YOUNG'S PRESENTATION BY REFERRING TO THE MEETING EARLIER FEBRUARY 14 BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN IN WASHINGTON. MAYNES SET FORTH IN EXPLICIT FORM THE ELEMENTS OF A SOLUTION. HE URGED OUR CONCERN THAT IF THE PROBLEM IS NOT CONTAINED QUICKLY EVENTS COULD BE SET IN MOTION THAT WOULD BE SERIOUSLY DETRIMENTAL TO BOTH THE

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SOVIET UNION AND THE US. HE REINFORCED OUR EXPRESSION OF DESIRE TO BUILD ON AND ENCOURAGE THE OAU EFFORT BUT UNDERScoreD OUR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF TAKING THE MATTER TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

5. LEONARD ADDRESSED THE DANGER TO SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND TO OUR NUMEROUS CVITAL COMMON ENTERPRISES INHERENT IN ANY ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE HORN.

6. TROYANOVSKY RESPONDED BY RECALLING THAT DURING THE PERIOD OF CLLSE SOVIET-SOMALI RELATIONS, WHEN THE SOMALIS PROPOSED THE NOTION OF INVASION OF THE OGADEN, THE SOVIETS BLUNTLY TOLD THE SOMALIS IT WAS WRONG. TROYANOVSKY SAID SOVIET POLICY HAS BEEN CONSISTENT THROUGHOUT; BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION REFUSED TO SUPPORT SOMALI POLICY THE SOVIETS' RELATIONSHIP WITH SOMALI WAS SACRIFICED. IN THE VIEW OF THE SOVIET UNION THE SOMALI ACTION WAS PLAIN AGGRESSION AND IF CONDONED BY THE SOVIET UNION OR OTHERS IT WOULD ONLY LEAD TO CHAOS IN AFRICA. TROYANOVSKY WENT ON THE RECALL, HOWEVER, THAT THE US, UNLIKE THE SOVIET UNION, DID NOT SPEAK UP

AGAINST SOMALI AGGRESSION. HE SPECULATED THAT IF WE
HAD ACTED FORTHRIGHTLY ON THIS BASIS OF PRINCIPLE,
HAD IN FACT ACTED TOGETHER WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THE
COURSE OF EVENTS MIGHT HAVE BEEN FAVORABLY AFFECTED. HE SAID
MOST AFRICANS SIDE WITH ETHIOPIA IN THIS DISPUTE
BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN BORDER AND TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS.

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7. TROYANOVSKY WENT ON THE RECOUNT THAT ONCE LAUNCHED
THE SOMALI INVASION EXTENDED DEEP
INTO ETHIOPIA. ULTIMATELY WHEN THEY WERE PREPARED TO
DO SO, THE ETHIOPIANS COUNTERATTACKED. AND WAS ONLY

AT THE STAGE WHEN THE ETHIOPIAN RESPONSE TO SOMALI
AGGRESSION BEGAN TO GATHER FORCE THAT "EVERYONE"
SUDDENLY GOT WORRIED. BEFORE THAT TIME NOBODY HAD
SPOKEN OUT AGAINST THE CLEAR AGGRESSION AGAINST
ETHIOPIA COMMITTED BY SOMALIA.

8. TROYANOVSKY SAID MOST AFRICAN STATES STILL CONSIDER
THE MATTER TO BE WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE OAU. HE
RECALLED THAT THE SOMALIS RECENTLY HAD TALKED OF GOING
TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL BUT MOST AFRICANS DISCOURAGED
THEM. THE GABONESE REP IN NEW YORK WAS EXPLICITLY
INSTRUCTED TO DISSUADE THE SOMALIS FROM GOING TO THE

SECURITY COUNCIL BECAUSE IT WOULD RESULT IN PITTING
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AFRICANS AGAINST ARABS AND WOULD BE DESTRUCTIVE OF
AFRICAN UNITY.

9. TROYANOVSKY SAID "AS FAR AS WE KNOW"
ETHIOPIA HAS NO INTENTION OF DRIVING ACROSS THE SOMALI
BORDER. TROYANOVSKY SAID HE ALSO UNDERSTANDS THE
ETHIOPIANS HAVE TAKEN A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE
MISSION OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA. HE ALSO
SAID HE UNDERSTANDS THE BARGBE MISSION IS STILL IN
PROCESS, AND CONSEQUENTLY IF THE US WERE TO RAISE THIS
MATTER IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IT WOULD LOOK VERY BAD.

10. LEONARD AND MAYNES REINFORCED OUR ARGUMENTS FOR
CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEM IN THE COUNCIL. LEONARD
OBSERVED THAT WHILE TROYANOVSKY'S DESCRIPTION OF HISTORY
WAS GENERALLY ACCURATE THE WEAPONS USED BY SOMALIA IN
THEIR AGGRESSION WERE OBVIOUSLY SOVIET, LEAVING THE
SOVIET UNION WITH SOME RESPONSIBILITY TO BLOCK AGGRESSION.
HE ALSO OBSERVED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD NEVER APPROACHED
THE US WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT WE TALK ABOUT THE
SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOMALI MOVE. HE URGED
THAT OUR PRESENT HOPE IS THAT WE COULD ENLIST SOVIET
SUPPORT FOR A JOINT EFFORT DIRECTED TOWARD A SOLUTION
OF THE PROBLEM. MAYNES UNDERSCORED OUR PROPOSAL THAT
ANY CEASEFIRE WOULD BE PREDICATED ON WITHDRAWAL OF
TROOPS IN THE OGADEN. HE SUGGESTED THAT RECENT
STATEMENTS BY SOMALI PRESIDENT SIAD MAY INDICATE AN
OPENING FOR A NEGOTIATED WITHDRAWAL. SINCE ETHIOPIA
WANTS SOMALIA FORCES OUT OF THE OGADEN, THIS SHOULD
PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATION.

11. TROYANOVSKY ASKED WHAT SPECIFICALLY THE US WANTED
FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL. MAYNES AGAIN RECAPPED THE
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MAJOR PRINCIPLES ON WHICH WE BELIEVE A SETTLEMENT
COULD BE BASED. TROYANOVSKY ASKED DIRECTLY WHETHER
WE HAD DECIDED TO GO TO THE COUNCIL. MAYNES RESPONDED
THAT WE ARE CONSULTING WITH THE AFRICAN MEMBERS AND ARE
CONSIDERING VERY SERIOUSLY TAKING THE ISSUE TO THE
COUNCIL OURSELVES IF THE AFRICANS ARE NOT INTERESTED
IN SPONSORING IT.

12. TROYANOVSKY SAID HE REALLY DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THERE WAS SO MUCH PRESSURE NOW FOR ACTION IN THE COUNCIL, WHERE THERE HAD BEEN NONE BEFORE. HE ALSO DID NOT BELIEVE THERE WOULD LONG BE MUCH OF A PROBLEM, BECAUSE IF THE SOMALIS WITHDRAW THE ETHIOPIANS WILL REFRAIN FROM CROSSING THE BORDER AND THE WAR WILL BE SETTLED. CONCERNING A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, TROYANOVSKY SAID HE DID NOT SEE HOW WE COULD AVOID RECRIMINATIONS. APART FROM WHAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US MIGHT SAY IN THE COUNCIL, AFRICANS, ARABS AND OTHERS ARE LIKELY TO HEAT UP THE DEBATE. IN CONCLUSION TROYANOVSKY SAID THAT HE OBVIOUSLY IS NOT IN A POSITION TO RESPOND FURTHER TO OUR PRESENTATION. HE SAID A RESPONSE WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF HIS GOVERNMENT IN MOSCOW.
YOUNG

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